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732 561 classes. From the very outset the second division is of no significance to persons whose bodies are deformed in any way (*chedangga*), that is to say those who have festers under the nails,[9] crooked arms,[10] a big toe that is twisted back,[11] poor sight or blindness,[12] goitre,[13] or similar physical defects. They are not considered as persons to be despised, but are viewed as unsuitable for the service of the gods, and hence for that of the *desa*. They must be distinguished from the persons with certain specific contagious diseases who are banished from the village.

852 561 562 At his birth the new citizen of Tĕnganan is, like his mother, impure. He may not go to the northwestern bathing place with his mother until his ears have been pierced. The rituals of piercing his ears, cutting his hair, and filing his teeth, each of them accompanied by the presentation of offerings, gradually make him fit to begin participating in the public life of the *desa*, which takes place around his seventh year. At that time he joins together with several other boys of the same age in the fifth month, Kalima, and from then until the eighth month, Kaulu, the months when most offerings are made, they help the boys' associations with their work in connection with the festivities. In Kaulu this initial period comes to an end, and the group chooses officers. The next year, in Karo or Katiga, the second and third month, the group goes on an expedition every third night to one of the temples in the *desa* territory, beginning with the *pura puseh* and ending with Chandi Dasa. On such expeditions the boys, with a small creese in their girdles, must take care that other people do not detect them on their way to the temple and back, and they quickly hide whenever someone is approaching. If a person does catch sight of the children he pretends not to have seen them and softly mumbles a prayer that they may finish their expedition undisturbed. During their pious travels they pray to the deity that they may be able to conclude their apprenticeship at their *guru*'s without interruption and that they may become familiar with *adat* and *agama*. On a favourable day in Kaulu, the eighth month, they go to live for a year in their *guru*'s house. On first entering the house they make an offering at the door.

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The boys are actually only called *tĕruna nyoman* once their parents have taken offerings to the *guru*. The *guru* and the pupils fan the offerings while reciting a prayer, then the pupils eat the remains of the offerings. After this prayer the *guru* and the members of the three older boys' associations take the *tĕrunas nyoman* to meet the village girls for the first time. Beforehand they prepare betel and the accompanying requisites, sugar, salt, and fruits to present to the girls. (It should be pointed out that the activities of all the *tĕruna* associations consist to a large extent in forming bonds of friendship with the girls.) On this first visit the young boys must be hidden from the eyes of the girls and may not be seen by anyone on the street except the other *tĕrunas*. The visit takes place in the evening, and when the boys leave their *guru*'s home a little house plaited of split bamboo and open only at the bottom is shoved close to the compound gate. The boys scurry under it and the *pĕngawins*, the boys who were *tĕrunas nyoman* the time before, carry the house slowly while the boys of the new group walk along inside it.

The members of the girls' associations sit arranged around their officers in the *bale buga* of each group's meeting place, with the lamp, the deity, above them. They are clad in their meeting costumes, a long striped red sarong and a *gĕringsing* breastcloth, and welcome the procession with a pleasant smile. The *guru* and the *pĕngawins* declare in ornate language that the juvenile section of the Tĕngananese youth has come to pay its respects. The *tĕrunas nyoman* themselves may not laugh or make a sound.

The *pĕngawins* have beforehand taken a supply of mud to each *subak*. While the girls recite secret incantations each of the *pĕngawins* in turn tosses handfuls of mud towards the girls' officers in an underarm movement with the left hand from a distance of two fathoms. This mudslinging goes on as long as the girls continue reciting. It is forbidden to hit higher than the shoulder or to strike the lamp, and violations are fined, but the ceremony has degenerated into an occasion to tease the girls, and little attention is paid to the prohibitions: the most fun of all is to throw the lamp out. This ceremony is repeated in each of the three *subaks*,

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852 and is held again on two favourable days in the latter half of the
561 same month.

562 The next month, Kasanga, the three girls' associations pay a counter-visit, bringing gifts to the house of the *guru* of the *tĕrunas nyoman*, each association on its own day. These ceremonial visits back and forth are then repeated at set times.

[554] The *tĕrunas nyoman* continue to live with their *guru* for a year,
86 passing the night in his *bale buga*. His instruction includes *adat*,
561 religious stipulations, and secret incantations that may not be
562 revealed to anyone from outside the *desa* or set down in writing.
875 But also ordinary school subjects such as reading, arithmetic, and knowledge of the *kidungs*, Old Javanese writings, and chronology are taught, in as far as the *guru* has the knowledge to teach them.

[593] The parents do not have to pay any expenses or school fees for this stay at the *guru*'s house, and are only responsible for providing the boys with food. The boys themselves, however, have to spend
[431] quite a bit on gifts for the girls, so that at the beginning of the period they need to borrow money, to be repaid by the year's end. Consequently the pupils spend their free time doing all sorts of odd jobs for money to be saved in their treasury. At the end of the period they use this money to pay their debts, and the surplus is divided equally.

During their apprenticeship the *tĕrunas nyoman* must follow their *guru*'s commands and the constitution of their association strictly. The latter describes some of the boys' obligations – for example they must stand watch at their *guru*'s house, armed with a creese and a blowpipe, they must set his betel ready and go with him to the bathing place, and they must accompany the village girls on their processions. And it lists certain regulations regarding propriety in clothing, speech, and behaviour. They may not enter the *guru*'s sleeping place, visit their parents' home without permission, nor return to the *guru*'s dwelling after midnight. They are also prohibited to cross the Buhu River during their apprenticeship. Violations are punished by a warning or a fine of thirty-three, sixty-six, or a hundred doits. Three warnings are followed by a fine of thirty-three doits.

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Around one o'clock in the afternoon of the sixth day of Kaulu the *tĕrunas nyoman* are declared proficient, *tamat*. For the occasion they assemble at their *guru*'s house, each of them dressed in a brand-new *kain* and headcloth, with a *gĕringsing* as a shawl, and a white *gĕringsing* sash over it, a frangipane flower behind the ears, and a creese in the girdle. The older boys dress the lads.

Once they are dressed they arrange themselves in a double row in front of the *guru*'s house, then proceed southward to the *subak* of the *dĕha wayah*, shouting loudly. There they check whether all the girls of the association are present. If one is lacking they fetch her from her home, the girl in the middle of the procession and the boys shouting all around her.

Once the girls are all present the *tĕrunas nyoman* go back to the *guru*, who has meanwhile donned his *adat* costume (*gĕringsing*, white sash, and creese, but no headcloth – instead he wears his hair in a priestly knot). The *tĕrunas nyoman* lead him outside and then follow him as he conducts them to one after the other of the *subaks* of the three girls' associations, where he announces to the girls that his pupils have concluded their study as *tĕruna nyoman* and will now continue their upbringing in one of the three older boys' associations.

The ceremonial is as follows. The *guru* seats himself in the *bale buga* with his face turned to the south, and all the *tĕrunas nyoman* sit on mats on the ground with their faces towards the *guru*. The *subak dĕha* hands the *guru* a roll of betel, which he chews with his face turned towards his pupils, thus cast downwards, and grasping the beams of the *bale buga* with one hand he addresses the *tĕrunas nyoman*, beginning as follows: "Hear, all you *tĕrunas nyoman*, it can now be said that you have ended your time of learning with your *ĕmpu;* that you like the birds, have wings to fly with. Where there are people wiser than I – go there to learn." Then he expresses the hope that they will not later put him to shame by misbehaving, and especially by violating the regulations laid down by *adat*.

The *tĕrunas nyoman* answer in chorus: "Aye, it is as you say. We have great respect for you; if there is later any work that you

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want to have done, charge us, your pupils, with it: we shall faithfully follow your commands by working for you." Then they all perform a *sĕmbah* before the *guru*, and various of them are unable to hide their emotion. Next the girls recite a prayer of thanks to the deity that the boys have concluded their period of learning without misfortune.

Then follows a charming ceremony. The girls say to the boys: "Come, all of you, chew some betel, there are the requisites", and they indicate a full betel box in the corner of the *bale sakanĕm*. The boys have to fetch the box, but in doing so they must continue to touch the edge of the candle-nut chest in the diagonally opposite corner of the *bale* with their toes. If they cannot reach so far lying on their stomachs they are permitted to jab in the box with their creese handle and in that way pull it towards them. Then each of them takes a betel leaf, chews on it a few times, and spits out the half-chewed leaf, after which a quid is chewed in the usual way. This concludes the ceremony.

There is an interesting comparison between the *tĕrunas nyoman* and moths. While the boys are busy with their temple expeditions they are called 'eggs', once they are in their *guru*'s house they are called 'pupae', and when the *guru* declares their period of learning ended this is called 'hatching'.

From the very beginning these boys are considered to belong to the boys' association their father belonged to. At the same time, however, they are the *pĕngawins* of the *tĕrunas nyoman* for the next year. Since all *tĕrunas* are present at the ceremonies for the *tĕrunas nyoman* there is constant contact between the younger and older groups of boys. The *tĕrunas* of the three associations also provide four officials of the *sĕkaha tĕruna nyoman* who have the task of helping to maintain order and of settling difficulties.

There is a certain connection between the three older boys' associations and the classes in the *desa*, since the *tĕruna tĕmu kaja* consists of the boys of the *sangyang*, *prajurit*, *pande*, and *bĕndesa* groups, the *tĕruna tĕmu tĕngah* of those of the *ĕmbak buluh* and the *pasĕk*, and the *tĕruna tĕmu kĕlod* those of the *ijĕng* and the two *batuguling* groups. Each of the associations has its own assembly hall,

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where the members are required to pass the night at specified times of the year.

Complementing the boys' associations are the three girls' associations. The girls – who must lead very retired lives, are not allowed to go outside the compound gate unaccompanied even during the daytime until they are engaged, and may not do any trading at the risk of being expelled from the association – do not have a preliminary training such as the young boys, nor do they have a *guru*. Nonetheless they are all able to read. Without any preliminaries, they each become a member of one of the three associations, the same one their mother belonged to.

Between the boys' associations and two of the girls' associations there is a tie called *mĕwarang*. This tie exists between the *tĕmu-kaja* and *tĕmu-tĕngah* boys' associations and the *sĕkaha dĕha nyoman*, and between the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association and the *sĕkaha dĕha nĕngah*. The *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys reportedly earlier asked to be *mĕwarang* with the *dĕha wayah*, but the girls refused. The *mĕwarang* finds expression in mutual aid and the presentation of gifts, and the members of the associations involved address each other as *de warang*. Members of associations which are not *mĕwarang* call each other *sumaningsun*.

Marriage bring the Tĕngananese a step further. Both husband and wife become members of the *desa* association (the women sit on the left side at joint meetings), and the parents of the new couple lose their membership. Marriage, then, more or less upsets the division of the population according to age. In this connection it should be pointed out that in a family a younger son who marries before his elder brother is considered as having changed places with the latter. The tie between the new *desa* members and their young people's associations is maintained, since they become *palaks* of their former associations. The *desa* association and the young people's associations are highly interdependent in other ways as well: for example, during various festivals first the members of the *desa* are treated to a meal by the young people, and then the young people are given a repast by the *desa* members.

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575 The *desa* members, the core villagers, are further distinguished according to the length of their membership. The most recent *desa* members are called *pĕngluduhan*, 'those who are charged'. They sit at the lower end in the *bale agung*. The next group consists of twelve *tambĕlapus*. Then come twelve *bahans*, of which the six eldest are the *klihans bahan*, the *desa* officials in charge of day-to-day affairs who meet every evening in the *bale agung* and hence are also called *klihans desa*. The following group is that of the *klihans luanan*, or *uluanan*, 'those sitting above'. There should be six such dignitaries, including the *subak* (the *de ngijĕng*), but since that post is vacant there are only five. These *klihans* are also called *kĕbayans desa*. There is a still older group, the *klihans gumi*, but they are no longer *desa* members. This group consists of the six oldest persons (counting from the beginning of their *desa* membership) in the village who had to leave the association because of the marriage of a child when they were of *bahan* rank or higher, and whose wives are still alive.

55 575 [587] If a person loses his *desa* membership because of the death of his wife he can only become a member again by marrying a girl who has not yet been married. In that case he regains his earlier place, and if that has moved forward in the *bale agung* he obtains a higher place, so that it sometimes happens that he skips over some ranks. However, it may be the case that when he regains his membership the number of places in the rank he should occupy are all filled, and in that case he has to wait for a vacancy.

561 ●562 769 This whole division of the population according to age and marital status corresponds to a division of the graveyards, which, as was pointed out, consist of an eastern and a western group, each of which is subdivided in a burial ground for children who have not yet lost their milk teeth, one for older children, and one for adults.

576 626 This structure of the population is of importance in two respects. There is perhaps no other *desa* on Bali where the individual is so much fitted into the village service from the cradle to the grave as in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. There are countless imperative and

## THE COMMUNITY

The chewing of 49
betel-nut is the first gesture of hospitality and the main social 574
pastime of the entire archipelago. To chew betel, a piece of the 276
green nut of the betel palm is dabbed with a little lime, wrapped in pepper leaves, *sirih*, and the whole chewed together with a large wad of shredded tobacco that is held under a monstrously protruding lower lip. The combination of betel, *sirih*, and lime produces an abundant flow of saliva, red as blood, and the betel addict spits constantly, leaving crimson splotches wherever he goes. After certain guests departed, our house-boy always had to wash the veranda steps because they looked as if a murder had been committed on them. Today betel-chewing is not favoured 276
by the younger generation, not only because it looks so disagree- [198]
able, but because it spoils the teeth. The older the person, the fonder he is of betel, and the ingredients are always kept on hand in boxes with little compartments or in special satchels of woven pandanus. Old men without teeth have a special bamboo tube [886]
with an iron rod to mash the various ingredients together. The *sirih*, betel, and lime are presented to guests in little ready-made [431]
packages often beautifully decorated with streamers of delicately cut-out palm-leaf. They are called *tjanang* or *baséh*, a gift.

A host must act as servant to his guests, himself attending to 574
their comfort and not partaking of the refreshments. Meals are 264
also served by the host, even if he has servants and assistants, and he can eat only after the guests have finished. If the visitors come from another village, they are expected to stay for the night and even for days at a time. The place of honour in the house is then assigned to them. After a reasonable period of time the visit is repaid and the presents reciprocated.

Very strict are the rules between men and women. On public 562
occasions men and women keep to themselves in separate groups, 576
and people from Gianyar are shocked to see the sexes mingle in Badung while watching a show. In the same manner the people of Badung are disgusted because in Tabanan men and women [515]
bathe near together. It is rude to look into a public bath and even worse to enter it unless to bathe. Then the other bathers become figuratively invisible.

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562 576 become figuratively invisible. Great courtesy is shown even among people who are intimate and it is extremely unusual for a man to "get fresh" with a girl in public; should it happen, the man would be severely punished. Thus a woman can confidently remain in her house while her male relatives are away at work, and a girl can go anywhere without fear of being approached by a stranger. Girls of high caste usually go chaperoned. Lovers are particularly careful not to show their emotions in public.

264 576 To neglect releasing a loud belch after a meal would be taken by the host as a sign that the food was not satisfactory. In general the Balinese are very frank in actions that would be out of the question among us, such as clearing the throat, spitting, and so forth. These are perfectly normal actions no one needs to conceal.

576 564 [191] But the key to Balinese etiquette among the castes consists in the language spoken and in keeping at the proper level. Under no circumstance should a common man stand higher than an aristocrat. If a lowly person has to pass a nobleman who is sitting, he stoops in front of him until he is reasonably far away, and to address his superior he must squat or sit on the ground clasping his hands together in front of his chest or over his left shoulder. To retire, after begging leave, he walks backwards, stooping and holding his hands clasped.

## LANGUAGE

191 564 576 When two strange Balinese meet, as for instance on the road, they call each other as *djeró*, a safe, polite way of addressing someone whose title is unknown. Since there are no outward signs of caste, the appropriate titles cannot be used and all the words for "you" (*tjaí, nyaí, nanî*) are extremely familiar and derogatory. Strangers talk in the middle language, a compromise between the daily speech and the polite tongue. Should, however, one be of low caste and the other a nobleman, it would be wrong for them to continue talking in this manner, and one of

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tuak, they also have duties to perform: they are the leading members of the village association, the priests, witch-doctors, story-tellers, and of course the teachers of writing, poetry, and the arts. Old men are often duck-shepherds, guiding the flocks of ducks to the fields and back.

At one time the dramatic arts were restricted to the men, although older women danced in religious ceremonies. But today girls have successfully invaded the theatrical field. In general the condition of Balinese women is better than in other Eastern countries. A woman has definite rights; the income she derives from the sale of her pigs, her weaving, or the garden produce she sells in the market is her own, and she may dispose of her belongings without the knowledge of her husband. Most women are not only economically independent, but contribute to the expenses of the household. A woman's debts are her own and her husband is not liable for them. The women keep the finances of the family and control the markets.

## THE ECONOMIC ORDER

With agriculture as the main occupation of the people and the basis of wealth, the question of the ownership of land is of great importance. Bali presents the amazing spectacle of a land where the deeply rooted agrarian communalism of the people has continued to exist side by side with the feudalism of the noble landlords. We have seen that the true Balinese village is an independent economic and social unit, ruled by a council of villagers with voting power, equal rights for all, and ownership of land restricted by village regulations. The lands are communally cultivated to maintain the village festivals, and even the ground on which the houses stand is village property that can be reclaimed if the tenant abuses his privileges. Since the land and its products belong to the ancestral gods, the idea of absolute property is not firmly rooted among the Balinese. In our household nobody objected when neighbours came and cut flowers and banana leaves without permission.

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yellow, and white string, weighted at the ends with *kepengs*. These were passed under the arms and across the backs of the bride and groom, the four ends held by the priest while he recited a prayer. Then the ends of the ropes were crossed over their chests and thrown back. The priest gave the couple a ladle of holy water to drink, and continued praying while the couple fanned towards themselves the essence of the prayer, doing the same again when the priest held in front of them a bundle made of the coloured ropes, which in the meantime had been removed by the attendants. The ceremony concluded with a long prayer (*maweda*) performed by the priest towards *kangin*; a combination of Sanskrit formulas recited silently, accompanied by swift and intricate gestures of the hands, alternated with ringing a bell and flinging away various sorts of flowers. After the purification the banquet was served and the guests spent the rest of the night watching plays and dances.

The woman "follows" the man and lives in his home. Either the eldest or the youngest son inherits the paternal home, but other sons usually build a house of their own on an empty lot given by the village to a newly-wed couple. The first duty of the man is then to build a temporary *sanggah kemulan*, his family shrine, made of bamboo and thatch, which is replaced later on by a more solid structure of brick and wood, when the old one has fallen into decay. It may happen, however, that a man commits *nyebuhin*, going to live in the house of the girl with whom he is infatuated. A man who runs after a girl in this manner is disgraced; he loses all rights to the paternal home and lives as a servant of the girl's family. The opposite may also happen and a *ngungahin* marriage takes place, when a girl, supposedly bewitched, forces herself upon a man.

Ordinarily there is at home a strong feeling of equality, of politeness, and friendly frankness in the relationship between husband and wife, and the woman is by no means the proverbial slave of Oriental countries. She is well aware of her rights, she

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593 manages the house and the finances of the family, and at times
● 562 she even keeps her husband. We have seen that the majority of the women of average class work and have their own incomes.
[422] They own their clothes, their jewellery, and the household uten-
[428] sils, as well as the pigs and chickens of the house. The man, of course, owns the house itself, the ricefields, the cattle, and his implements, and inheritance is invariably along the male line. The woman has absolute rights over her income and owns her share of the money earned by their combined efforts, although the husband is the administrator of this money. In general the
[592] man is the acknowledged master of the household and represents the family before the law and before the gods, who are his own ancestors.

841 But once a month, during menstrual time, a wife's life is not a happy one; to her physical handicap is added the powerful taboo of pollution (*sebel*) which then falls upon her: she is forbidden to go into the temple, into the kitchen or the granary, or to the well. She may not prepare food nor, of course, make offerings or participate at feasts, and the wife of a high priest may not even speak to her exalted husband. No man would dream of sleeping in the same room with a woman in this condition; the average man moves into the house of a friend, but the wife of a nobleman has to look for a place to sleep, far from her husband. In the palace of a prince there is often a secluded compartment where his wives retire while menstruating. When the period is over, a woman has to be purified again with sprinkling of holy water before she can resume normal life. Perhaps because the Balinese
[754] believe that a man can be bewitched, losing all his will to the woman who can anoint his head with menstrual blood, they have such mortal horror of being near a woman during the time of menstruation.

595 The Balinese are reputedly polygamous, but the great majority
162 – about ninety-five per cent – have only one wife. It was generally believed that there are considerably more women than men in Bali, but the last census (1930) gives the figures as 561,874

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males as against 576,543 females, or 49.35 per cent men and 50.65 per cent women, a percentage of women that is even below normal. Men of the nobility often have two, three, four, and even more wives, and old records mention Radjas with as many as two hundred. This is a thing of the past, however, and there are few people today who can afford more than one wife. But the Balinese are naturally polygamous and it is common for men to have lovers and for women to take the extra-marital relations of their husbands as natural.

If a man brings home a second wife, the first is not expected to show jealousy, but unpleasant situations develop if the man takes a new wife without the knowledge of his first wife. Such was the case in our household and we often had to mediate between the two wives of our host in violent squabbles that exploded for the most trivial causes. I remain under the impression, however, that it was often wounded pride rather than sentimental jealousy that brought about the tense situations, and with other families of polygamous Balinese we knew this was so. The younger wife of a friend took care of the elder wife's child, and when they visited us together one would have taken them for sisters, such was the affection they showed for each other. Often another woman with whom to share the house means company and help to the first, and thus she is welcomed, especially if the new wife was chosen, as often happens, by the first wife.

Two wives in one home have separate houses to sleep in and often they do not even live together. Many Balinese live with the first wife in the ancestral home and keep their subsequent wives in other houses and even in different villages, visiting them once in a while and only bringing them together at festivals where they all must pray together. They agree that this is the most convenient arrangement, and our harassed host confided to me that in future lives he would be wiser and would marry only once.

The free and easy status of women of the average class is not enjoyed by women of the aristocracy; their husbands are absolute masters and they live restricted and secluded in the palace,

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562 the *puri*, usually going out only in groups to festivals. The first
564 wife of the same caste as the husband (*padmí*) enjoys a higher
[837] status than a second wife (*madewí*), even though she may be
[595] of high caste also. Then there are those with a considerably lower status, the wives of low caste (*penawing, slir*), who are regarded as legal concubines. The prince does not usually appear at his wedding ceremony with a bride of low caste, and she is ceremonially married to his kris or to a tree. The wives of a prince live together in the *puri* and each has her own *balé*, placed according to rank, where the prince visits them by turns. A low-caste wife of a nobleman receives the title of *djeró*, and there are special titles to establish the status of their children. The son of a nobleman and a woman of lower class is of the caste of the father unless there is a great difference between them.

684 A man is not morally bound to be faithful to his wife, but in-
562 fidelity on the part of the woman is a dreadful crime, punished legally in old times with the death of the guilty couple. I was
682 told of the case of a man of the aristocracy of Badung who found his wife in compromising circumstances with a man of his caste, a relative besides. Out of his mind with rage, he clubbed them to death, then sent for the *pungawa* to give himself up. Calmly he asked for the alarm-drum not to be sounded, as is done in cases of violence when a man temporarily loses his mind and runs amuck. His wish was granted and he was led to jail. When the trial came up, his crime was taken lightly by the noble judges and he was given a short jail sentence. It is possible that in "civilized" society he would have gone free.

586 Ordinarily in a case of adultery the husband simply "throws
[837] his wife away" (*makutang*). Divorce laws are simple and easy. A man may claim divorce if his wife is sterile, quarrelsome, or lazy, but a woman has also the right to divorce an impotent man, or one who has some occult illness, is cruel to her, or fails to support her, although many women support themselves and there is no standard established as to what is non-support. A woman who wants a divorce simply leaves her husband's home,

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536 545 Before the *dalang* can perform publicly, he must be ordained by a priest in the *mawinten* ceremony, when mystic syllables are inscribed on his tongue with the stem of a *tjempaka* flower dipped in honey. Then he can perform the magic *tjalonarang* and may wear the knot (*prutjut*) worn on the hair by priests.

There are no announcements made when a *wayang* show is [202] to take place. Somehow the rumour spreads from person to person and there is a crowd even before the *dalang* arrives. By the time he begins to stretch his screen, a great mob has gathered, sitting quietly on the ground, giving no signs of impatience at the customary endless wait for the play to begin. It seems as if they deliberately waited until midnight to start, timing the show to end at dawn. Women and children sit in the front ranks facing the screen, the men are divided between the last rows and "backstage," the side of the screen where the *dalang* ● [562] sits, where they can watch the actual puppets. In Java it is a rule that the men look at the puppets, while the women see only the shadows.

The screen (*kelir*) is a piece of white cloth stretched on a wooden frame and lit by a primitive oil lamp (*damar*) that hangs directly above the *dalang*'s head. The shadows are thrown on this screen by means of the lamp. At the foot of the screen is a section of the soft trunk of a banana tree, where the supports of the marionettes are stuck to hold them in position when they are not in motion. The *dalang* sits cross-legged next to a long, coffin-shaped wooden chest (*kropak*), where he keeps his puppets. Behind the *dalang* is the orchestra, the *gendér wayang*, [534] four xylophones, each played by a musician. Between the toes of his right foot, the *dalang* holds a piece of horn, a hammer, with which he knocks out rhythms on the wooden chest — indications to the orchestra.

When everything is ready, at the tock-tock of the *dalang*'s toe-hammer, the orchestra begins to play the delicate, watery music of the *wayang*, rich tone-colours and suspended tempos like bells and fountains playing a Debussian melody. A strange

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shell he blows, who knows about rituals and offerings, but who does not as a rule go into trance. 793

In the usual Balinese village, type 2 above, the priestly function is performed by the *pemangkoe* of each temple, who may be a commoner or a man of Hinduistic caste. He is in charge of the temple, performs the calendrical rituals, dedicates offerings, recites prayers in a mixture of Old Language and Sanskrit slokas, and officiates at household rites de passage, babies' festivals, weddings, birthdays, and the like. He is rather contemptuously referred to by the higher caste priesthood as "sweeper," and in ceremonial trance-talk in the temple festivals "*djero sapoeh*" (sweeper) refers to this priest.

In areas where Brahmana high priests (*pedanda, peranda*) exist they may be called upon to officiate at temple festivals or at private occasions, but their services are in no sense necessary except for the people of high caste. They are often very learned men and women who can read and write Sanskrit with ease, know the old literature, the long elaborate rituals, and the prescriptions for this or that ceremonial, and practice a spiritual discipline directly in the Hinduistic tradition, with fasting, prayer, trance, contemplation, and the cultivation of an inner spiritual power which accompanies their learning and gives them the necessary authority over the people who turn to them for advice. Their study is so intensive that it is rare that a *pedanda* can be ordained before he reaches the age of forty. He has two or three disciples who study with him, whom he attempts to train to carry on in his place after his death. Among these disciples may be a son, but sons are not forced to study for the priesthood unless they show a special aptitude for it. On the other hand, the wife of the high priest learns the lore, the prayers, and the prescribed offerings and is considered the equal and female counterpart of him, able to take his place if he predeceases her. She can officiate at any occasion where his services would have been required and fulfills all functions except, I believe, that of inducting the young into Hinduistic learning. In any case, I never heard of a *pedanda istri* (literally high priest wife) with disciples. So long as she survives her husband she officiates in his stead, and it is only after her death that a son may be ordained. [869] [562]

Buddhistic high priests, *pedanda boda*, exist in Bali alongside the Sivaite, though there are far fewer of them. Their "followers" ask them to officiate at the same occasions at which Sivaite high priests are called upon by their "followers," and this relationship appears to be hereditary. The rituals of the two sorts of practitioner are amazingly like. On very rare occasions, such

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585 583 great extent, been forgotten. Only on the symbolic level do they remain true and valid for the culture which practices them; they are the ways through which the underlying ethos of the culture is expressed, through which it lives and continues to perpetuate itself.

592 [591] Every married pair may constitute a household, a *koeren*, the unit of the village or ward (*bandjar*). Usually, in a household of a number of children, one of the sons remains in the paternal house while the others move out and set up establishments of their own as they come to maturity and marry. The paternal house passes to the son who remains at home; as the old man reaches the age of superannuation it is this son who represents the household at the village meetings and who does the work apportioned by the village, the temple, the irrigation unit (*soebak*), or the higher authority of the district official government. It is characteristic of the Balinese system that it is the youngest son, not the eldest, who remains at home and inherits the father's house.

[593] 428 653

562 *Age and Sex Typing*. The Balinese have their own special view of the distinction between the sexes and of the differences or lack of differences between them at different times in the cycle of life. The most important point is the complementariness of the sexes, male and female together making up an entity, completing each other. Like the Chinese *yin* and *yang*, the theme male and female (*loch mocwani*) is endlessly repeated and recurrent in every context from the description of the gods to the terms for a carpenter's joining. But, beside this complementariness, there are areas where the distinction between the sexes seems quite irrelevant, the two sexes are interchangeable. Thus, though it is a patrilineal society, and a man must have a son to carry on his ancestral line, if he has no son, a daughter will do. The daughter then substitutes for the son. Various sorts of priestly functions may be carried out by women as well as by men; diviners, healers of one sort or another, godly spokesmen, all these are as likely to be male as female—the women have no monopoly here over hysterical manifestations. Little child dancers may be boys, or girls, or boys dressed as girls, or girls dressed as boys. There is a happy indeterminacy in all of these roles. In the very young, and in the very old, the difference in sex is of no consequence.

[611] [428] 562 462

562 [831] [462] [592] Only for purposes of mating is it felt necessary to keep the two sexes distinct. During the years of young courtship there is rather more emphasis on the difference between male and female. There are divisions of labor, between men's work and women's work, which serve to emphasize the difference as the skills are being acquired, but, once a young man and a young girl are married, they form a unit, a "household" (*koeren*) in which either one may act for the pair. They are like partners, of whom either one can

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represent the firm. For the temple, certain offerings are customarily prepared by men, others by women. But the work is shared out according to households; and if during the preparatory days the man is busy working in the rice fields, his wife may represent his household at the temple, or if she is busy at home, he may go in her stead. All the working of the village life is built up out of these household units, and it is for this reason almost unthinkable to remain unmarried. Bachelors and old maids are practically unknown.

When a child is born no special point is made as to whether it is a male or a female. It is like a little god, newly come from the heaven of the gods, perhaps an ancestor returned to earth. At three months it is taken for the first time to the temple to make its obeisance at the shrine of the Recorder of Births. From this time until the time of its losing its first teeth (*meketoes*), the child has a status of maximum innocence and purity; it is the nearest thing to a god which man may know. It is made much of and adored by both parents, whether it be male or female. After the age of six, the difference in occupation begins to effect a certain typing according to sex which was not evident up to that time. Little boys do herding of ducks and cattle in the fields, while little girls carry water and help their mothers in the household tasks.

When they begin to wear clothes, the *kamben* worn by boys and girls is almost identical, and, even among adult men and women, the difference between men's dress and women's dress is only a slight difference in the tying of the cloth or in the length to which it falls below the knee. Up until the last generation both men and women had long hair, and even today most priests still wear their hair long. In physical type, too, there is little difference between males and females. Both are slender and have relatively wide shoulders and narrow hips, a strong straight back, erect carriage, smooth muscles, and a smooth skin practically without body hair. The men have no beard, and their features do not differ markedly from the women's. It is not at all unusual to mistake a man for a woman, or a woman for a man, even at a few paces' distance.

This merging and indeterminacy of the sexes is to some extent offset by certain rules of behavior. For example, a man sits crosslegged, while a woman sits with both legs to one side. Or a man climbs coconut trees, a woman weaves. Thus, if it is impossible to tell whether a figure is male or female by looking at it, one may be able to tell by the way it is sitting or by what it is doing. And when we find, as we occasionally do, individuals who wish to be of the opposite sex, it is precisely by doing such things as climbing coconut trees or weaving that they express this wish.

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When men and women have passed through their age of maturity into old age, they reach again a period in which sex distinctions are of little consequence. This is the age at which everyone calls them grandfather (*pekak*) and grandmother (*dadong*) as terms of respect, when they are turned to for advice in the village, when they are powerful in the affairs of the family. At every temple festival one can see these old men and these old women, busy arranging everything as it should be, telling the younger folk where everything should go and what is missing and what comes next. They are lively and important and, for Balinese, play a dominant role regardless of whether they are male or female. Very often it is these old people who go into trance, dance, and give utterance as the gods' spokesmen.

In other parts of Indonesia one finds people with matrilineal social organization living in areas contiguous to people with patrilineal organization, such as, let us say, the matrilineal Minangkebau in Sumatra and their neighbors, the patrilineal Batak. In Bali, there is no trace of matrilineal organization. Instead, there is the possibility of the substitution of the female for the male. Though descent is reckoned in the male line, the family is to all intents and purposes bilateral. What is more, a man who has no sons but has a daughter may arrange for her a *sentana* marriage with a young man who will enter his household, renounce his own ancestral line, and become the "heir" to the ancestral line of his father-in-law. He then gives offerings at the house temple of his wife's ancestors, just as in the usual case the woman gives offerings after her marriage at the house temple of her husband's ancestors. This sort of marriage is thought of as an adoption and is an alternative to the adoption of a brother's son or a cousin's son in the necessary business of securing a child to carry on the patrilineal line.

This *sentana* marriage and the early adoption of children (*anak pekidih*, asked for child) are written into the *adat*, the customary law, and serve to illustrate how strong is the sense of the continuity of the family line, ancestor to adult to child, whether this continuity be achieved through male or through female blood lines. The emphasis is on the male side, and when relationship is traced through the female it is done substitutively, without any of the aura of matriliny and matriarchy about it, and casually, without very much of the patriarchal either. The old men, the elders of the villages with the more rigid, older social organization, come nearer to the patriarchal attitude than any one in the more modern villages of Bali, yet even here the wives may at times substitute for them in priestly functions. Male and female together, as an entity, is the idea which runs through the whole culture. If a woman acts, she acts as the representative of this entity,

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not as a female attempting to usurp a male role nor as a matriarch who tends to put the male in a position of subordination.

The question which is left unresolved in this analysis and which we will endeavor to explore is why the Witch figure in particular has aspects of senility, her long gray hair reaching to the ground and her pendulous breasts, together with the great tusks and the long hanging tongue suggesting the rapacious, aging female. The *Rangda* is old in a way that makes her more insatiable and more dangerous, in a way that the *Barong*, fierce and boisterous as he is, is not. There is a possibility that the quality of over age femaleness of this figure has a significance in the present which it had not in the past and which may be expressive of, indicative of, a phase of development in this particular culture.

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the Balinese mother smiles upon her son when she has taught him to say and feel "*Sing bani*," when she has taught him fear.

That this tie up between the mother and fear exists in Bali there can be no doubt. But that the Rangda should be construed as Mother Figure representative of the total feeling toward the mother, and that this substitution should be carried over into adulthood until the young man looks forward to marrying a girl who will turn into a witch, "marry a woman whose attitude toward human relations will be exactly that of his own mother,"[20] is a point of view with which this writer does not agree. Rangda serves only as a representation of the fear aspect of the Mother Figure. There is a split in the feeling toward the mother, the destructive, witchlike, devouring, and deathly side of her represented in the Rangda, which Mead and Bateson have stressed, and the loving, beautiful, food-giving aspect of the living woman.

Balinese women are famous the world over for their beauty, their grace, and their graciousness as people, and of this quality the women themselves do not seem unaware. The men, equally handsome and graceful, are appreciative of the gracious quality of the female and remark upon a pretty face, a beautiful breast, with connoisseurship such as they apply to the arts. Women who bear children are highly valued, and the importance of having issue is in this culture equal for the male and the female. Women cook the daily rice, which is holy. The making of the little rice goddess, Dewi Sri, at each harvest time from the first cut sheaf is apparently an Old Indonesian rite, representative of both the food giving and fertility aspects of the female. At New Year's time, before each house is hung a *penjor*, a palm leaf panel with cut out designs in highly stylized Old Indonesian patterns. On each panel, executed in a distinctive manner in each village, is a stylized tree, probably a male symbol, and a *tjili*, a lovely slender lady with triangular body and a circular headdress. This *tjili* figure has been identified with Dewi Sri, with the *dedari* (*widadari*, Sanskrit *vidya-dhari*), heavenly nymphs, in whose name the little girl trance dancers (*sang hyang dedari*) are invoked. A myriad of different forms among the offerings and the receptacles for the soul in post-mortuary ceremonies recall this graceful, somewhat infantile female figure. It seems that we are dealing here with a prototype of the feminine spirit figure from Old Indonesian times, brought down to us more or less intact in the *tjili* patterns and carried over, with necessary modifications, into the Hinduistic death ritual where needed. Covarrubias[21]

[20] Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 36.
[21] Covarrubias, 1937, pp. 172-75, 177, 179 and 181.

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The Barong enters the temple, too, and stands over Poetoe. Beside him is Toeroen, now out of trance, and, opposite the Barong with their backs to the shrine of Durga, are the two priests, the old priest of Dalem and the priest of Patal. A smoking brazier is before them. Poetoe goes on talking in trance using ceremonial conventionalized phrases, while the priests "yes" him, saying "Yes, Lord" to his commands. 796 786

"*Sangkal ada dasaran, sira mitjaang, saking isengisengan? Pirengan sangkaling kenken, sangkaling demen adjoem, sangkal ada kéne? Jan keto megiling pedasarané. Sakewanten éling medal* Ratoe Pemajoen. *Pedasaran* Ratoe Doesoen *ring* Langlang Boeana, *soewood keto mara pitjaang.*" ("Inasmuch as there are trance spokesmen, who accords it, by whose grace? How is it, followers, as happy and proud, it should be like this? And so the trance spokesmen go in procession. Only remember to bring forth the Lord Pemajoen (a name of the Barong). The trance spokesmen of the Lord Doesoen in the land of Langlang Boeana. That's all. No more is given.") [539]

As he says this Poetoe's eyes are open. He leans forward a little from the waist, sways back and forth. All around, people are singing the wailing chant called *mekidoeng*, doing honor to the godly presence. They bring a scarf to put around his upper body, and a headcloth is placed, not on his head, which would be improper, but on his shoulders. (This is equivalent to the ceremonial dressing of the *sadegs*, trance spokesmen, when they perform the trance séances in the temple.) The Barong snaps his jaws. The priest of Patal takes the Barong's beard and smokes it in the brazier. He wafts the smoke, still facing the Barong. Poetoe is swaying back and forth from the waist. Again the Barong snaps.

The priest waves towards the Barong with a little fan of palm leaf. He holds a live chick out before him, dedicates it. Poetoe puts out his hand for the chick, turns to face the Barong. Holding the chick at arms' length, with one gesture he pops it straight into his mouth. He munches showing no disgust.

Toeroen, meanwhile, is given a raw egg, which he drains and throws down the shell. He puts his hands three times over the brazier and to his face. Then he turns to make a reverence to the Barong.

Toeroen is offered *arak*. He extends his hands, then crosses them on his chest, extends them, crosses them. He repeats this three or four times, as in a daze. Finally he takes it saying, "*Tiang noenas*" ("I accept"), and drinks. He is sprinkled and given a sip of holy water. He makes his reverence to the shrine of Durga. Then he turns around again and makes a reverence to the Barong saying, "*Titijang mepamit*" ("I beg permission to depart").

Poetoe turns away at once and begins to discuss his share of the offerings. He calls to someone to come and take his share, to carry it home. He is immediately quite business-like and present.

Then the Barong goes out, and all the Rangdas in their baskets, followed by all the people, who go shouting and banging on the *gamelan* down the road, home to Taman.

It is very striking that the women and young girls played no part at all on this afternoon; the whole Barong and Rangda play, with its accompanying trances, was given without their participation with the exception of the preparation of the necessary offerings. They did act as audience, and that, perhaps, is their important role when the dramatizations are being put [562]

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on. Both the parts of Barong and of Rangda are taken by men, so that the male and female aspect of the dramatization is taken off the plane of ordinary humanity and lifted to the level of the masked supernaturals. It seems clear that, when the players who are enacting these supernaturals are doing so simply because they are so cast in the theatrical performance, there need not be any identification such as I have pointed to in the course of the temple ceremony.

In the course of our study we were careful to collect as many introspective statements of the Balinese principals in these trance performances as it was possible to glean, by interviewing them ourselves or by sending our especially trained secretaries to do so. The non-verbal character of the Balinese made these statements relatively unrevealing. It was, apparently, almost impossible for a Balinese trance subject to put into words what he had experienced, even though the acting out, the attitudes and gestures of his performance, had been most eloquent. The things the Balinese have to say about their trance experiences are so very stereotyped, they are so tongue tied, so lacking in any sort of flow of really personal descriptive quality, that the very meagerness of their expression becomes a point to be noted. It is for this reason that we reproduce here the translations of two conversations, taken down in Balinese by G.M. on the days immediately following the ceremonies that we have been describing. The first is with a male subject, the second with a female. They are fairly typical of a very much larger number of interviews intended to throw light on the subjective experiences of our trance subjects.

*G. M.—On the trance of I Toeroen.* The Njonjah ordered me to ask about I Toeroen's going so often into trance. That's what I was ordered to ask about by Njonjah. She told me to ask whether at the time when he began to go in trance he was ill or not. That's what I was ordered to ask. It was evening, then, and I met the priest of Dalem (*Mangkoe Dalem*) and I asked him about I Toeroen. The child of I Toeroen is called I Rebig and he plays *ketjak* (in the *djangér* dance). That child is still only five years old. That child is like in shape to I Toeroen. I Toeroen is not very old, but he is still *njalah* (half old). At evening, then, I questioned the priest. The priest said that he was not a person who had been sick, not at all. He was a person who often went in trance (*keraoehan*) at the time of the Barong (play) in (the village of) Taman. I then further questioned the priest thus, "If it is so that I Toeroen was not ill formerly, what is it called then, when it's like that?" The priest of Dalem said, "When it's like that, if he is not ill first, all of a sudden he can go in trance at the time of the festival, and that is called *djedjawatan* (official—?, from *djawat*, Malay, an office, a post), and those who are ill in the beginning are called *kesekoeng* by the gods." I Toeroen at the time of going in trance with the Barong (play) most often stabs his cheek as well as

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jective meaning for the participants than do the masked plays. Yet there is no sharp line to be drawn between the two sorts of appearances; a man who has been playing in the Barong may be possessed by the god of the Rangda; a woman may find herself late at night stabbing with a kris at her breast as if she were a man or carried away in a trance state, speaking as the Rangda.

There is a strong point of difference here between Balinese culture and many primitive societies in which the enactment of the masked supernaturals is a strictly male prerogative, women are excluded from participation but are present as audience, and the children, too, up till adolescence. (In Hopi and Zuni, for example, among American Indians; in Australian bull roarer initiation ceremonies.) In such societies, initiation into the knowledge of the secret of the mask performers constitutes a validation of the masculine role, a landmark in the boys' development. In Bali the point of difference is not to be attributed only to the relative advancement of these people, the non-primitive, complex nature of their culture, but to an intrinsic qualitative difference, a special point of Balineseness.

An immensely important feature of Balinese culture, one which is deeply characteristic of these people and which continually arises in any analysis of their ritual and of patterned behavior, is the crossing of sex roles. The sex

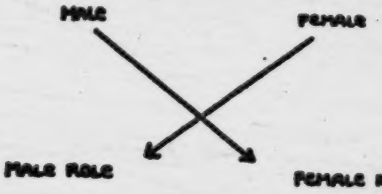


FIGURE 2. CHART INDICATING TREND TOWARD CROSSING OF SEX ROLES.

roles cross; they merge into an undifferentiated male female type and again are separated; there is a redivision of the sexes, which restores the polarity between them. These continual convergences and redivisions of the sexes are a part of their thinking, and much of the feeling at a deeper level, expressed in behavior, follows these lines. A chart of the relationships, overtly and covertly expressed, would look like this.

But, as the Balinese know, it is not so simpel as this. From the undifferentiated male female entity must again be separated off the male and female elements. The child, at first undifferentiated, repeats the motif.

This new being, created out of the union of the separated male and female

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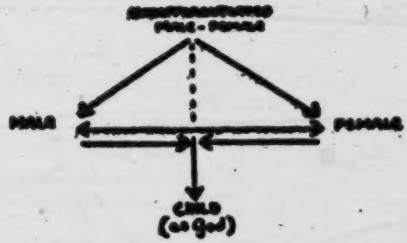


FIGURE 3. CHART INDICATING REESTABLISHMENT OF THE POLARITY AND EMERGENCE OF THE CHILD AS GOD.

elements, is like a god, and a god is like a child. It is the descendant, in a straight line, from the undifferentiated male female element, which will again divide as either its male or its female potential is realized.

Thus the whole picture could be schematized in this fashion.

The crossing of sex roles (there are in Bali both male and female transvestites) is one of the possibilities afforded by the culture. There is a definite high valuation placed upon the godly figure which combines the characteristics of both sexes, Sang Hyang Toenggal, The Solitary, or Tjintija, who preceded the separation of male and female in Balinese cosmology. He is, in time, before all the gods, before Siva, Brahma, and Vishnu. And, as each such god is in Bali, he is thought of as Man and Wife (*lanangistri*, or, Sanskrit *ardhanarisvara*).[6]

The complementary principle is stated and restated. Through the union of male and female, a child is created. The child, however, is once more of uncertain sex—at least up until birth. It is, so to speak, in a direct line of descent from Sang Hyang Toenggal for it contains the potentialities of both the sexes. The most godlike infants are male and female twins, said to be *ardhanarisvara*, man and wife, already married in the womb. Such twins are magically dangerous and make the village unclean (*sebel*) if they are born to people of low caste. For people of high caste they are a good sign for the boy is born like a god; he brings his wife with him out of the womb; he marries his sister. In this, the Balinese boy and girl twins repeat the theme of the Balinese legendary "original couple" who came together out of a coconut blossom.[7]

[6] Radhakrishnan, speaking of Hinduism in India, says, "Marriage is regarded as sacred. The very gods are married. When the Hindu descends from the adoration of the Absolute and takes to the worship of a personal god, his god has always a consort. He does not worship a bachelor or a virgin. Siva is *ardhanarisvara*, and his image signifies the cooperative, interdependent, separately incomplete but jointly complete masculine and feminine functions of the supreme being" (Radhakrishnan, 1927).

[7] Belo, 1935.

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857 of this pain-word seems to satisfy the oppressor, who desists. I
201 never witnessed nor heard of a case where one small boy "beat up"
578 another. Certainly the hierarchy of ages recognized in any family group tends to discourage fighting, for every child knows that he is
561 allowed to "speak down to," scold, and order about his younger
857 brothers and cousins, just as he himself is spoken down to and ordered about by brothers and all relatives older than he. The system works smoothly, for if one is humiliated by an elder, one may take out one's venom on a younger member of the familiar group. The accumulation of ill-humor does not fall too heavily upon the youngest child, for he can always take refuge behind the protective skirts of the mother, who is older, and therefore in authority, over his oppressor. So are the scales balanced.

562 Very small girls are sometimes seen in the company of the boys
857 who play in the streets. But by the time the girls reach the age of responsibility—seven or eight—they are more apt to remain in the housecourt with the mother, taking a part in her work. Or if they
[482] are seen along the road, they carry on their hip a younger child en-
[855] trusted to their care.[4] These diminutive nursemaids saunter up and down, or stand watching the play of the boys, prevented from joining in the activity by the responsibility, and the actual weight of their charges. Girls do not play games, for gambling is a man's
[524] occupation. Neither can they share in one of the boys' favorite di-
[533] versions, that of drumming away for hours on the instruments of the village orchestra, which are generally left in an open pavilion accessible to the children. This is another occupation which belongs to the men. The girls stand by watching, and do not think of trying
[462] their hand at it, although they are not actually forbidden to do so. I have known one or two girls, dancers, who had developed quite a proficiency as musicians, but their cases were exceptional. In the same way girls are not expected to paint and draw. When I sent
53 out a call to a number of villages for the drawings of children from
562 four to ten years, and distributed materials sufficient for all, not a
857 single girl sent in a drawing, nor would the little girls of my own village attempt any drawings even under repeated encouragement. Yet these same girls are learning from their mothers the complicated
[868] arts of making offerings, cutting designs from palm-leaf, and weaving.

[854] [4] Boys also carry babies, without shame, in imitation of their fathers who habitually dandle the small children.

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tion for a feast. In taking the position the Balinese, be he a man of eighty or a child of eight, lowers himself with the back held straight, at the same time pulling the loin-cloth with his two hands tight over the thighs, so that the folds will not hang and expose him indecently. Women are of course, equally modest, and the little girls learn this trick earlier than the boys, for they are generally given a strip of cloth to wrap around them at the age of four or five, whereas the boys run naked several years longer.

Women sit with their legs bent back from the knees, both legs to one side. They may not take the crosslegged position which is proper for the men. A high priest, who has a right to the place of honor, will on entering a European house choose not the most softly cushioned, but the highest chair, and he will cross his legs upon the seat of it. Certain ascetics of noble caste, who have bound themselves to strict rules of behavior, may not sit down to eat facing in any direction except North or East. In the palaces of the nobility men of humble rank may sit or squat, but they are not allowed to stand or walk while a prince is seated. When they have to move about, fulfilling orders, they advance in a half-crouching position. So strongly felt is the matter of relative height that a man may ask one's permission before venturing to climb up a coconut tree to bring one refreshment.

The Balinese prefer to eat alone, and it is forbidden to speak to anyone who is eating. To speak to him would anger the god that is in him.[7] In some villages there used to be a fine imposed on any man who entered another's house and disturbed him while he was eating. Of this fine part was paid directly to the affronted person, part to the community, in compensation for disturbing the peace. Within the household there is no sitting down to a family meal. Each member takes his leaf-plate of rice at his own pleasure, carrying it off into a corner, often turning his back on his friends and relatives.[8] It is only proper to take food in the right hand while eating, although of course both hands are used in the preparation of it. Along the roads, at the markets, and at all performances are little stalls where refreshments are sold. But I have known several Balinese who said it was improper to eat in the street, and that they were "too ashamed" to do it.

[7] Here again, indigestion as a disturbance of bodily well-being is to be feared and avoided.

[8] In my own house I often surprised a boy or girl crouching alone in a dark cupboard absorbing the allotted plateful of rice, while a merry group who were not at the moment eating sat chatting without.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7



The feeling of modesty—no other words seems to apply—attached to eating does not apply to drinking, and anyone will drink anywhere, without making a fuss about it. Similarly no shame is felt for urinating, which is done by both men and women along the public roads, in the open fields, anywhere except within the housecourt or on holy ground. But for defecating the people retire to relative privacy, "where the pigs are," out of sight. The many pigs and dogs act as scavengers, and may be relied upon to do away with all the filth.

Where there are gushing springs, bathing places are constructed, with walls dividing off the place of the women from that of the men. When the rivers are used for bathing, the sexes divide into groups, the men taking the upstream position, the women the downstream. But within each group modesty is shown, and the genitals may not be exposed even to a member of the same sex. The men cover themselves with one hand, the women lift their skirts gradually, and suddenly plunge waist deep in the water. Dressing and undressing may be done in public by both men and women, for their clothes are of such a nature that they can be changed without immodesty.*

## Manifestations of the Emotional Life

The Balinese are universally afraid in the dark, and the fear of *léjaks*, living male and female sorcerers in supernatural form, is intensified between the hours of midnight and dawn, when these creatures are supposed to roam. Even grown boys and men will not visit at night unholy places such as the graveyard, the crossroads, certain trees and bridges where supernatural manifestations are frequent. They are afraid to walk along the dark village streets at night, unless accompanied, but if a man must go alone he sings in a loud voice to frighten away the *léjaks*, or to keep his spirits up. His housecourt is his haven. The encircling clay walls, the high ceremonial entrance gate, and the magic strip of wall immediately within this gate (to block the path of evil spirits) give him a feeling a security, sleeping upon the open pavilions. But he prefers not to sleep alone. If he has passed the age when he wishes to sleep next his wife, he will take one or two of his little sons to bed with him. Small children sleep with their parents, grandparents, or huddle in a group together.

* For the breasts, of course, the women show no modesty at all. It is only the region from the knees to the waist which must never be exposed. The Balinese feel about exposure of the thighs of women as Westerners feel about their breasts, and a woman in a Western bathing suit is extremely shocking to them for that reason.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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a group together. When a group of men who are strangers are passing through a village, they may take shelter for the night in the men's communal pavilion which stands by the roadside—an unprotected place. They curl up as close as possible to each other, like young puppies, the body of one curving around that of his neighbor, with often an arm or a leg thrown over him. A group may be so compact that if one turns over the whole group must turn. The language contains terms for light and heavy sleepers, but as a rule they sleep soundly and are hard to rouse. They are afraid to awaken each other, lest the soul of the sleeper be wandering. But the taboo seems to imply more danger to the one doing the awakening than the one awakened, for a boy who says "I do not dare to wake him" will show no objection if a foreigner takes upon himself the responsibility of awakening one of his fellows.

As has been mentioned, a man may not touch a woman, even his wife, before others. He may not touch a woman's clothes, nor should his clothes touch hers, as, for instance, in a trunk. If it is necessary to pack them together, the man's clothes must be on top. But in the privacy supplied by darkness the taboos are lifted. Lovers and married people may caress each other freely. Favorite caresses are the *tjioem*, the affectionate or passionate "sniff" which replaces our kiss, and the *saling ngaras*, "exchange of strokings," a term applied to the rubbing of cheek on cheek, both slowly turning their heads from side to side, so that the lips do come into play as they brush past each other. Love-scenes depicted in the paintings, and described in the literature, suggest that many of the refinements of the art of love which belong to Hindu tradition have been taken over by the Balinese. But for reasons of their own, which have already been made sufficiently clear, the Balinese do not use the reversed posture, nor may the woman be above. In sexual play only the left hand may be used, since the right is used for eating.

A woman is popularly supposed to have within her a *manik*. The term *manik* is applied to jewels, and to a sprite which sits in coconut trees, and is pursued by Kilap Krèbèk Geroedoeg, Thunder-and-Lightning, who, when he catches the *manik*, causes the coconut tree to be burnt up. But the *manik* in a woman is of a different sort. In sexual intercourse her *manik* is repeatedly "hit," and this contact causes it to become larger and larger until it becomes a child. After the birth of the child, she gets a new *manik*. It is possible, though by no means sure, that the Balinese conceive orgasm of both man

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ment has a lively, if haphazard, character, brought about by the enthusiasm of the various individuals working together virtually without a leader. One has the impression that it is fear of angering his fellows which prevents the Balinese from assuming a dominant attitude towards persons outside of his familiar group.

When anger does appear, it usually follows the pattern of the Malay "running amok," also recognized in Bali. The literature is filled with episodes in which a man, even a prince or Radja, who is overcome with grief or thwarted in his desires, "becomes confused in his mind, and retires to his sleeping-apartment, where he lies for many days and many nights, refusing both food and drink." This brooding state is the first stage in the pattern, when the man remains alone, nursing his grievances, until he has worked himself into a trance-like state, and he will have the strength to rush out and commit deeds of violence. Tales of warriors describe the stirring up of anger before going into combat; and all war dances have brooding passages interspersed between the gestures and expressions of fierce and terrifying advance. Bravery in itself is not highly valued. It is considered more natural for a man to be under the sway of fear than of anger. A man shows no embarrassment over his fear—he says quite simply "I do not dare," whether the project in question is a midnight visit to the graveyard, or climbing a coconut tree on a day of the astrological calendar when it is forbidden. The things which a man will not dare to do are those which the experience of his forbears have shown to be unwise, and to behave with intrepidity without good reason would be to court disaster, not only for himself but perhaps for the whole community.

## Deviants

We have seen that in such a social scheme each individual has his place, and he has only to do what is expected of him to fit with nicety into the life of the group. But there are occasions when an individual finds it impossible to conform, and at these times disturbance and maladjustment appear. Certain temperaments, for instance, are not amenable to the national habit of submissive obedience. Women with fiery dispositions may run away from their husbands, taking shelter with their own families, and refusing to return, or departing with a lover.[11] A small boy of eight told the following story of his

[11] For cases of runaway wives see the author's "Study of a Balinese Family," *American Anthropologist*, 1936, XXXVIII, No. 1 (in press).

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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many hundreds of years static, it has been possible for these laws to grow up, to be sifted and tested over a long period, until they have reached a code eminently suitable to the people whom they govern. For this reason it becomes easy for the child to take over the ways of his elders—the more forcibly impressed upon him because of the weight of tradition behind them, and the fear of transgressing the laws which have been shown by experience to be acceptable to the ever-present gods and demons. Actually the child is afforded no choice at all under the sanction of the community. He has only to obey the prescriptions of tradition to become an adult happily adjusted to the life which is his. And if the child is a girl, she begins very early to feel how her rôle is differentiated from that of a boy. The women accept without rancor the rôle of an inferior. It is simply that they have their being on a different plane from the men. In a society with so many stratifications, that of age within the family, of rank and of relative wealth as between families, the place of woman as an inferior is not seen as a hardship. The system of stratification works smoothly, as a rule, and all those individuals who conform to it seem happy. It is a part of the very order which gives to the life of the Balinese its stability.

### When the Rules May Be Broken

The Balinese way of life even provides an organized release from the rigid code, times when individuals who feel the need of it may break almost all the rules of decorum. These are the occasions of intense and fevered group activity. There is no space here to describe these manifestations in detail, and a few examples of what I mean must suffice. In the prolonged and enthusiastic rehearsals of musicians, actors, and dancers, when all work together in a group, no attention is paid to relative rank, and a performer of noble birth takes his place in equality with the group—he sits on a level with his social inferiors, and bows to their will in matters of artistic production, if their talent be superior to his. At communal feasts men who are accustomed to eating in private gather in groups to partake of the unusual viands and delicacies which they have prepared. Here the taboos do not quite break down, for although they regale themselves with relish, no conversation is allowed between the members feasting together. At the celebration of cremations, several hundred men together cast off their habitual carefully poised bearing, and taking up the body of their friend, or the tower which is to convey

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7



the eldest son, at the paternal house with his wife and children, to succeed the old man at his death. But this does not always happen, and as we shall see in other cases, it is more usually the older brothers who move out one by one and set up new households, leaving the youngest boy to succeed and take over the paternal house. (Daughters do not inherit property.) It may be that the desire for independence, when newly married, prompts the elder brother to depart, leaving his right of succession to the youngest.

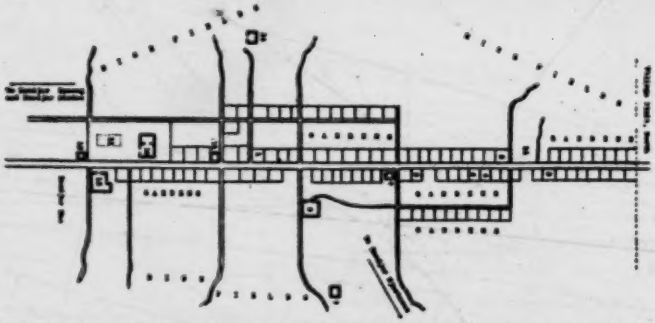

FIG. 3. Map of Bandjar Koetoeh, Village of Sajan. 1, House of the great-grandfather, Gentoeh-Njadet-Keroenâ; 2, House of Géwar-Klepoeg-Gari; 3, House of Bedil-Dariâ; 4, House of Boedal-Rendah; 5, House of Mertâ; 6, House of Soewakâ; 7, Balé Bandjar of Koetoeh, meeting house of the men; 8, Poerâ Dalem, temple of the dead; 9, Poerâ Panataran, temple; 10, Poerâ Dêsâ and Poerâ Poeseh, village temple and temple of origin (common to the five bandjars); 11, Peken, village market place; 12, Poeri, "palace" of the Tjokordâ; 13, Balé Bandjar of Bandjar Mas; 14, Poerâ Nagasari, temple; 15, Poerâ Panti, temple; 16, Semâ, village graveyard and cremation place.

They say also that the youngest son has had, at the time of his father's death, less time to set himself up, and is therefore less able to fend for himself, than the others who have been married several years. Whatever the reasons, the rule is that the eldest or the youngest, not the intermediate son, inherits the paternal house. (See exception, pp. 23–24.)

The sixth child was another boy, who died in childhood. The seventh, Njoman Dog, another boy, who, although married for several years, has remained in the paternal house. He and his wife Rawi are now a part of Rendah's household. In Balinese this is called ngerob, "to share a kitchen." They say it is because Rendah is not strong, and Dog helps with the cultivation of Rendah's ricefields in return for sharing in the house. Rendah seems to have complete authority over Dog, and orders him about as his

Ma Batak OD5 Molaccas OH1
C Java OE1 Ceram OH9
Bt Malays AN5 Buru OH8
Br Bali OF1 Gorontolo OG6
G Makassar OG6 Borneo OC1
Bu [200 cont.]
805 (about one hour), etc. To indicate very short lengths of time, one speaks of the duration of a betel quid, about a quarter of an hour. These expressions are still used even on Java and among J the Malays. The latter say sakapur sirih lamanja = the duration Ml of a betel quid, and the former say sapanginang, which means [805] about the same thing.

[201] Chapter 9. Family Life.

a. Birth; b. Twins; c. Abortion;
d. Naming; e Bathing.

a. Birth

I In the first place, we want to examine the principal cus-
842 toms at birth.
562 In general, the native values the possession of children very highly, even to such extent that among many peoples a childless marriage is grounds for divorce. There is nothing more terrible for a married woman than to remain childless. She can be sure that her husband will despise her and her sisters Mk will ridicule her. "Eh! indona = oh, mother of itself," says the Bt Buginese (1), and the Batak (2) and the Balinese (3) are no less Bl
842
562
775

1. Matthes, Boegineesch Wrdb., see indó.

2. Van der Tuuk, Bataksch Wrdb., see ambala.

3. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T. L. Vk., Vol. XVIII, p. 387.

considerate in this respect. Moreover, the childless woman has

Makassar 066
Bali 0F7
Batak 0D5
Gorontolo 064
Borneo 0c1

Br
Bt [201 cont.]
M to fear a number of horrors in the hereafter; indeed some peoples
842 of the archipelago believe that in hell she must feed a snake at
562 her breast for punishment.
775 In general a son is desired more than a daughter as the first-born, but after that daughters are desired, in particular because of their value in connection with [202] bride price. The
G Alfoer of northern Celebes expresses this very characteristically:
842 "only girls bring in money" (1).

1. Graafland, De Minahassa, Vol. I, p. 301.

Bt
Br
I Infertility is therefore regrettable and is generally ascribed
842 to evil spirits. All kinds of charms and offerings are used to try
776 to render their influence innocuous. Even during pregnancy, how-
775 ever, the woman still has to fear the snares of the evil demons. She therefore zealously gives offerings to them, who bear such names as djata (2) among the Dajak [Dyak], langolan among

2. Hardeland, Dajaksch-Deutsches Wörterbuch, see bararamin.

the Batak, etc. Standing above all of them, however, are the pontianak, the spirits of women who died in childbirth. All the women who have met this fate are pontianak without exception. They are usually imagined as naked and as having the shape of birds, thus, as flying ghosts. Driven by envy, they always and at all times seek to take away from their sisters the joy that they themselves have been deprived of. Various means, primarily offerings, are used to ward off their influence. As well as on the pregnant women, these ghosts also have designs on the men as the beings who can give the joy of motherhood to the women, and particularly on their genitals (3).

3. Wilken, Het Animisme bij de Volken

564 [409 cont.]
1. brâhmana; 2. satrijâ; 3. wèsijâ; 4. sudra. The caste of the Brahmans, which the [410] priests are chosen, forms the highest rank. Those who belong to it bear the title of hidan or ida, hida-haju or ida-aju, the women idaju. The Brahmans who have [793] proved by study that they have the required knowledge of religion and priests are called ida gĕdé. They also bear the name pandanda, derived from danda = dasta = staff, which they carry in public. Pandanda thus actually means staff bearer. They are also called pandita, a word that only indicates capability and is derived from Sanskrit. In that language pandita means "learned." Still another title of the priests is kertâ, which is more generally used for those who are charged with consulting the codes of law and, as such, have a seat in the law courts.

The Brahmansare higher in rank than the princes and may marry princes' daughters. On the other hand, the princes may not marry women from the caste of the Brahmans. It is a general rule that marriage with a woman from a higher caste is prohibited under penalty of death.

The number of Brahmans on Bali is very considerable and many live in such great poverty that they must make a living by agriculture, fishing, or handiwork.

564 The caste of the satriya [Kshatriya] is that of the warriors.
701 We have seen that on Java this word means nobleman, which is
● 562 also the case here; the members have the title of dewa, or dewa-haju if they are women. A section of this caste has the title bagus. According to the original institutions, only the satriya were allowed to carry weapons in defense of the country, and the sovereigns, too, had to belong to it. This institution, however, is so corrupted that nowadays everyone participates in war and the sovereigns are not chosen exclusively from this caste. Only the sovereign of Kloengkoeng must be a pure satriya. He bears the title of Dewa agung.

564 The caste of the Wesja [Vaisya], the farmers, merchants,
643 and artists, has greater prestige here than in India. All Balinese sovereigns, except the one of Kloengkoeng, belong to it. The

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Land Dyak OC8
Bali OF7
Borneo OC1



woman, who does not belong to the "marga" in the Lontung group from which he is supposed to take his wife, the "marga" adopts the desired woman for this purpose. The adoption of girls occurs among the Semendoëans, or among the Langak Dyaks and Tajan Dyaks of Borneo in order to have a daughter who can administer the nuclear property (see p. 197); this gives her a place above the sons in the family.

In Bali and the Great East, a father adopts a man, who then marries his foster-father's daughter. This is closest to adoption marriage without adoption. It is usually unmarried children who are adopted. Adoption is usually done by married persons, who are old enough to be the parents of the foster child, but in Bali, adoption by unmarried persons occasionally takes place.

In principle, annulment of an adoption is possible in all situations, which permit the expulsion of a child. (See p. 154.) It can also be done in Bali for a number of other reasons leading to dissatisfaction. It is possible, too, in Borneo, but only on payment of high damages.

We should also make note of the fact that in Bali only a son can receive the estate of his father and continue his position as head of a family. If there are no sons, a boy can be adopted, either by the man, in anticipation of death, or by his widow, after the event. But instead of doing this, the father may raise a daughter to the position of "sentana," or succeeding heir. This confers the rights and duties of an eldest son on her. Such a girl can marry only in accordance with the adoptive marriage form, and her husband is then called "sentana tarakan."

Finally, there is the legal act by which a father obtains the transfer of one or two of his children from their mother's clan (to which they belong because of adoptive marriage) to his own. This transfer results because a traditionally fixed payment was made at the time of the marriage or in consequence of a later payment. It is in effect a cash transaction.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Borneo OC1 Alienese OD4
Celebes OG1 Gorontalo OG4
Java OE1
Bali OF7



riage remain personal debts. In South Sumatra, such possessions are called "harta pembujangan" (of the husband) and "harta penantian" (of the wife). In Bali, they are "guna kaya" of both the husband and wife.

But if acquired during the course of the marriage, such possessions usually become the joint property of the husband and wife. Yet there are circumstances under which property acquired during marriage becomes the personal property of one of the marriage partners. In Atjeh, for example, the income of the husband belongs to him personally, unless the wife has provided the family some material basis in the form of a residential compound or a garden, or unless she gave him subsistence on a journey. (Could this be a ratiocination on the part of the community against the law of Islam, which does not recognize her?) In West Java, for example, if at the time of marriage the wife was rich and the husband poor, the income during marriage goes to the woman personally. But among the priyayi class in Java, it seems to be assumed that the receipts of the husband are for him. Finally, the goods or money which were presented by her parents to the wife, in connection with her marriage (not in the form of partition, dowry, etc.), generally continue to belong to her, and usually remain her personal property. Where a marriage gift to the wife occurs among the marriage payments, such as the "jinamee" in Atjeh, the "hōko" among the Minahasa, and the "sunrang" in the largest part of South Celebes, that property or money remains the property of the wife. In like manner, the presents, which she receives from her future husband or from family members as a part of getting married remain her own property, for the most part. In Atjeh this is true only of the defloration present and the seventh-day present. But it holds for the penalty, which (in Borneo, for example) the one spouse has to pay to the other because of an offense.

3. *Marriage property held jointly by husband and wife.*—The rule that property acquired during marriage is held jointly by husband and wife is just as common as the rule premised above with respect to "asal" property, which remains the property of the kin group. Joint ownership forms an estate to which both husband and wife each have a claim, in part, in case of divorce. It is a great exception if there is no provision at all for such joint property. It is only among patrilineal local groups that the kin group property of the husband (in case of a bride-price marriage) or of the wife (in case of an adoptive marriage) leaves no room for building a joint estate.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Java OE1 Gorontalo OG4 Bali OE7
Redjang Lampong OD12 Batak OD5
Ambon CH4
Minangkabau OD10
I Bt 562 428 184 R Gr MK Bl J 562 428 184 I 177 428 I [128] I [964 178] Am MK I 428 596



(although in this connection the property which has been given to the daughters must not be left out of consideration). In Minangkabau, it is only half true; namely, only with respect to the mother. Inheritance from the father goes to his sister's children and not to those of his wife. In the Lampongs it is only half true, insofar as there only the oldest child inherits, although he has the duty of treating the family of the father as his own family. The rule that after the death of the native possessor the estate remains undivided under certain circumstances brings about a different situation in the Minahassa than among the Minangkabau, and in Bali and Java.

The rules of inheritance are subject to not only the influence of social changes, growth of the family tie, with concomitant decrease of the clan and tribal tie, but also to the influence of rules of inheritance of foreign legal systems, which as a result of certain external connections with religion are provided with an authority derived from religion, and are, for example, applied to concrete instances by religious judges. However, this influence is noticeable to a far less degree in case of the law of inheritance than in the law of marriage. Whether permanent resistance is offered to it, or whether radical action can proceed from it, depends upon the power of the formal law of inheritance.

We shall discuss in the following order the continuance of the undivided estate, then the legal acts which accomplish or influence distribution, then the parties entitled to inherit *ab intestato*, and finally, the inheritance of particular constituents of the estate and debts. The placing of property in the grave, which according to belief was too personally connected with the deceased to be capable of being possessed without danger by other persons, must be regarded as a custom that has disappeared or is disappearing.

### A. THE UNDIVIDED ESTATE

The indivisibility of an estate is in some law-areas dependent upon the impossibility of owning property received from the fathers and mothers other than jointly with the other kinsmen. The extended possessions, the "harta pusaka," of the Minangkabau and the extended family lands (dati) on the Hitu Peninsula of Ambon may serve as examples. Every child that is born is a participant in the complex of persons which possesses extended family property, arable fields, residential compounds with house and cattle, krisses and precious objects. The death of the individual man or woman leaves the complex undisturbed.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Land Dyak OC8 Redjang-Lampong OD12
Ambon OH4 Minangkabau OD10
Bali OF7

Am I MK 428 596 611

Possessions which a man has acquired as his own during his lifetime (harta pencharian) may pass as an indivisible unit at his death to his descendants, who are entitled to them and who during his lifetime already stood in relation to the possessions as "waris." (See p. 189.) If, for example, among the Minangkabau a woman dies in personal possession of a field, then that field becomes the indivisible group possession of her children: "harta pusaka" in the first generation. In a like manner, "harta pencharian" of a man become the "harta pusaka" of his brothers and sisters and the descendants of the sisters in the female line. Thus subdivisions are formed in the "harta pusaka." There are the oldest possessions[1] going back many generations and originating from the ancestral mothers, who co-operated in the establishment of the "nagari." And there are the most recent possessions originating from a deceased man or woman of the previous generation. Between these are the complexes originating from ancestors of several generations back. All this becomes simpler in practice than it appears, as a result of the dying-out of groups and the consequent fusion of family units. If an extended family becomes too large, then it splits up, and there is a split in the indivisible property (gadang manjimpang). Where, as on the Hitu Peninsula of Ambon, such indivisible extended family property (dati) is in the hands of a patrilineal subclan, the children of the man and the descendants of the sons are the continuers thereof. The characteristic feature of this first type of undivided estate is, accordingly, the impossibility of division and the fact that the group is jointly entitled to it, mostly under the guidance of an extended family chief, the "mamaq kepala waris," (Minangkabau), or the "kepala dati" (Hitu). If the family dies out and its possessions become ownerless (guntung in Minangkabau, linnyap in Ambon), they may pass to related extended families or, if such are lacking, to the community.

R Bl L 428 562 594 611

Another type of undivided estate is the right of inheritance by a single child, either the oldest son (as among some of the Lampong peoples and still to some extent in Bali), or the oldest daughter, and if there are no daughters, the youngest son, among the Semendoëans of South Sumatra and among the Landak and Tayan Dyaks of West Borneo. In case of the death of the father, the oldest son slips into his place. He becomes the native possessor of the property, but he has at the same time the obligation of supporting his brothers

[1] The "harta pusaka tinggi" under the control of the head of the largest family group unit, the "pengulu andiko."

I 12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
R Land Dyak OC8 Minangkabau CD10 Bali OF7
Bl Redjang-Lampong OD12 Batak OD5
L Gorontalo OG4


and sisters. He must also give them away in marriage. On Bali, he must leave a portion of the property for a household shrine. Brothers, who do not wish to remain at home with the oldest brother in this way, emigrate with their families. In the Lampongs, whole "marga" appear to have been populated in this manner. But the paternal estate remains an undistributed unit from generation to generation in the possession of the "penyimbang," the eldest son of the eldest son. If there is no eldest son, and no provision for a substitute has been made, then that branch dies out, and the estate passes to the closest related branch. The possibility that younger children may demand the capitalizing of their right of maintenance, may lead to a claim to a division of the estate and to the desuetude of the seniority inheritance right. In Bali it seems that this process is making headway. The special position of the oldest daughter[2] among the Semendoëans, and of the oldest daughter (anaq pangkalan) among the Landak and Tayan Dyaks, has the effect of holding together the principal constituents of the estate as an indivisible unit made up of one agricultural field, one residential compound, one buffalo and one coconut tree. This unit remains both the place of departure and the place of refuge for all the children. Similarly privileged is the inheritance position of the youngest son among some of the Batak peoples. The one who stays at home the longest gets that part of the estate which was undivided in the hands of the testator. His obligations toward unmarried sisters, which he shares with the older brothers, are in proportion to his privileged position.

The well-known undivided extended family estates of the Minahasa (barang kalakeran) differ from the Minangkabauan extended family property in that distribution of the undivided estate is possible and permissible, provided all parties entitled to it give consent.

If individually acquired property (pasini), such as a new planting on land belonging to the extended family, is not divided, but passes on as the joint property of a group of descendants, who are but a fraction of the family group that owns the land, it creates subdivisions of the extended family just as it does among the Minangkabau. But in the Minahasan situation the effect is far more complicated, because of endogamous marriage. This is the cause of the confusion in land rights in the Minahasa, which was to be eliminated by making legally valid distribution of estates possible without complete unanimity of the family group members, who

[2] Tunggu tubang (under the supervision of the eldest son, the payung jurai).

become stronger than those which are based on extended family ties (p. 191). The children's right to inherit *ab intestato* the household goods as a whole arises through the practice of settlement.

The right of the children to inherit from both parents is a feature of the parental relationship both in the bilateral tribal organization (Dyak and Toraja) as well as that which results from the splitting up of larger relationship groups into families, as in Java.

In case of unilateral relationships, as was remarked above, there are two obstacles to the children inheriting from both parents. In the first place, children do not inherit from the parent, who remains a member of the family complex to which the children do not belong. For example: in Minangkabau where the children belong to the sub-clan of the mother, while the father has no part therein but remains attached to his own relationship group, the child's intestate right of succession to the goods of the father is excluded. The practice of settlement corrects this exclusion, while shifting of the social circumstances can partly or entirely annul it. Where daughters inherit the goods of their mother, and sons those of their father, as on Savu, the impediment can also be overcome by settlements. For example, the father can use his "pusaka" goods, which his daughter can never have the right to inherit, to settle (haru kaballa) a garden upon her and her female descendants.

Secondly, an entirely different obstacle to inheritance from their parents by children in unilateral relationship systems flows from the form of marriage consummated. As a result of strict bride-purchase, the bride, and in certain forms of adoptive marriage, the groom is cut loose from his community of relatives. This is the case among the Pepadon groups in the Lampongs. Among the Toba-Bataks, the daughter always withdraws from her father's family at marriage, with the result that she has no claim as a rightful heir in intestate succession—no more, for instance, than a married daughter has a claim to a part of her father's estate in Bali. The practice of settlement before, at, or after her marriage, corrects this exclusion. Even among the Toba-Bataks, although the daughter is not entitled to succession, she can ask for certain portions of the estate, on offering a feast with due attention to the prescribed forms of adat etiquette, and the sons or other relatives inheriting cannot refuse the request if it is at all reasonable.

In the group of children legally entitled to inherit, there is a differentiation in various law-areas which is tied up with the undis-

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tributed portion of the parent's estate in the form of native possession by the oldest son (among some Bataks, Lampongs, Pasemah, and in Bali); by the oldest daughter (Semendo, Landak and Tayan Dyak); by the youngest son (some Bataks, elsewhere in Bali), by the oldest and youngest son, *etc.* (p. 197). A differentiation in patrilineal areas between boys and girls in the sense that sons have the right to twice as much of the estate as daughters does not seem to be of native origin; the "sapikul sagendong" (the two against one) as a native standard of distribution refers only to the proportion in the communal marital property, although it appears to have infiltrated here and there occasionally into local rules of succession, as a false popular analogy and supported by the laws of Islam (p. 193).

The point of view that the wealth of the household is destined from the very beginning for the material basis of living of those who are born to the couple is confirmed in the adat law rule of substitute succession. Children of deceased children get the share of their parents from their grandparent's estate. Only religious justice sometimes breaks into this scheme.

The position of the widow with respect to the estate in the adat law point of view is that the wife as a stranger has no right to inherit, but as a spouse is joint owner of the goods acquired during marriage, with the limitations described above (p. 193). Moreover, everywhere (except where matrilineal organization makes it unnecessary) she has a claim to life-long support from the estate. In Bali, during the period before the son is legally recognized as successor (in the rituals by the corpse of his father) she administrates the estates. As a matter of fact, she often has this right in other locales. Consequently, the wife does not receive the inherited goods of the husband as heiress, but if necessary is entitled to receive an income from this property or may receive a share from it in one payment as property with which to support herself. If, in a patrilineal system, she is taken into the man's family, she remains with them and is supported, sometimes getting a part of the estate for herself (Bali). If she allows herself to be separated from the man's family, however, she never receives any goods from him. With a single exception, the husband does not inherit from his wife. In patrilineal regions, such as Pasemah, the trousseau which a woman brings with her in a bride-price marriage and which she retains at divorce, goes to her husband on her death, just as in Bali the wife's share of marital property, both that earned by the wife her-

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self, or personal possessions brought by her into marriage, fall to the husband.

Where there is common marital property, if there are no children, one spouse gets the whole estate at the death of the other. On the death of the second spouse, one half of this is left to the relatives on one side, half to the relatives on the other, or two-thirds to the relatives of the husband, and one-third to the relatives of the wife (sapikul sagendong). This division can also be arranged before the death of the second spouse and can, perhaps, in the case of remarriage, or in other cases, be bargained for earlier. It often happens in bilateral areas that even if there are children the claim of the widow for support and for her share of the goods acquired during marriage is recognized by settling upon her a more or less equal share in lieu of assurance of support of a wife by settlement during the life of her husband.

It is occasionally reported (South Celebes or Middle Java) that in addition to the common marital property, a widow's or widower's portion is recognized; probably due to the influence of Islamic law. This must be treated as a separate institution.

Insofar as the adoption caused the status of "stranger" to disappear and that of "child" to be created, the adopted child is legally entitled to succeed as a child. However, it may happen, on the contrary, that the adopted child remains a "stranger" to the families of the adopting parents, which means that the child does not receive the "asal" goods of the husband or the wife to which their own families have kept a certain claim, but he does receive the goods earned during their marriage (p. 161). In the Pasemah, the right of the adopted child to inherit is talked over with the members of the "dusun." In Java, when nephews are adopted they remain the legal heirs of their own parents, for instance, whereas in other places, such as South Sumatra, all right of succession to the actual parents and family is broken by the adoption. The adoption as a cash transaction always creates full rights of succession. The transfer of goods to the adopted child (keeping up the single line in the process of the succession of generations) is often the motive for taking the child. The disturbing influences of those judges, whose decisions are based on Islamic law, were and are nullified by settlements.

The succession to property in the absence of children is simple aside from the claims of the remaining spouse and the adopted child. The property goes back one step up the family tree of the